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II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorôbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochonget*, pl. *kochongesiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itôkto*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muênik*; N. *muiuek*), upon which the occupants [513] eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mât*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [302] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sdtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*soiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litêto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorôbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piônet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (N.),[1] about 15 ins. 372 long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*teet*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sasyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porôwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad oiik (*oiik* che *gach*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oiindet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad oiik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oiik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pondindet*, pl. *ponik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoinotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tiinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "opeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sukut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyuwet tree (N. *lapuonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakunyet*, or *koroiito* (*koroitu*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the rërendet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*ilgetik*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*poiisiek*, or *apaiisiek*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*ilpik*, N.) and women (*korusiek*, or *chepiosik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the sigiroinet (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*sureriat*; N. *sureret*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *ureriet*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.